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she had neglected to save these scraps, the mother had to find out (presumably with the aid of a *tau'a*) what had caused the trouble and then seek the material. Sometimes the cause of the trouble was indicated by some noise made by the child. One informant said that she knew of a child who made a noise like a donkey, and that the mother had to get some hairs of a donkey and burn them. If it was a chicken that had caused the trouble, a chicken had to be found—all of it that was not burned as a remedy had to be thrown away.

The remedy used today for the illness called *pa'atita*, which manifests itself in sores attacking the nose, mouth, and private parts, consists in mixing iron rust with lime juice and plastering the sores with this salve.

On Nuku Hiva two remedies were given to women supposed to be afflicted with the evil spirits called *hanaua* (*fanaua*). The first was powdered pearl shell mixed with the water from a very young, green-skinned coconut. The mixture was drunk as a potion. The second remedy was made of scraps of bark of the candlenut tree (*Aleurites triloba*), of the *fau*, and of the *kehia* tree (*Eugenia sp.*) and the skin of the *heutu* (*Musa fei*) beaten together into a pulp. This pulp was put into a cloth, and the juice squeezed out. A dose of the bitter potion thus prepared was drunk by the patient, while the doctor struck the woman on the head with a *noni* leaf in order to drive out the evil spirit. According to my informant, the bitter potion was conceived of as owing its potency against the spirit to its disagreeable taste.

When a woman was thought to be afflicted with *hanaua*, the following curative practice was also resorted to. A hole was dug, a fire was built in it, and certain herbs were thrown on. Sticks were then laid across the hole and the woman was made to sit on these sticks naked. It is said that this would cause her to bleed. Sometimes the bleeding would stop after a while and the woman was considered as cured. At other times the bleedng did not cease and the woman bled to death. A woman submitting to this treatment never knew whether she would be healed or would bleed to death.

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The manner of doctoring an infected hand was described to me as follows. Some kind of fish, a crab, certain herbs, and powdered coconut shell were put into a coconut vessel and placed on glowing charcoal. A half coconut shell having at its top a small hole was inverted over this and the infected hand was held in the vapor coming through the hole. This was repeated three times a day on three successive days and the afflicted hand was perfectly cured. The woman doctor who performed this cure had her special match box and her *tapu* matches for making the fire.

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To prevent leprosy, a person who had been defiled by contact with menstrual fluid had to find the woman who had thus defiled him and proceed with her, both of them being naked, into the river, the woman upstream, the man downstream. The woman must take up in her hands water that had touched her pudendum and throw it over the man who had been defiled. This would relieve him of the danger of becoming a leper (4).

Surgery

Surgeons (*tuhuna tatihi*) were professionals who devoted themselves to setting fractured limbs, replacing dislocated joints, trepanning, and so on. The profession of surgery seems to have been combined with that of healing by means of medicines (*tatihi* or *fainu*). At Atu Ona, the grandson of a famous surgeon told me that his grandfather used to repair injured skulls by inserting (whether in the scalp or in the skull itself was not definitely understood) a piece of coconut shell, the edges of which were perforated. Trepanning is mentioned by Stewart (26, pp. 24, 28). According to accounts this same surgeon at Atu Ona used to repair shattered arm and leg bones by ingrafting pieces of ironwood. Whether these accounts of grafting ironwood and coconut shell are mere stories or not, I have no way of knowing. Mr. Linton saw and photographed a trepanned skull at Hana Pa'aoa.

Exorcism

The most common method of healing sickness was by exorcising the evil spirits causing it. Such practice constituted a profession, its practitioners being known as *tau'a hiko etua* (priests who extract gods).

Père Pierre describes the ceremony called *hakuoa*, by which exorcisers were initiated and consecrated. The trunk of a banana tree was cut down, wrapped in cloth, and placed in deep water in a stream. The candidate, dressed in white, took up a position over the trunk of the banana tree. The *tau'a*, who was to initiate her, clad also in white, then showed her how to rub, using the banana trunk to illustrate, and instructed her in the manner of snatching evil spirits from the bodies of the sick.

Good, though not detailed, accounts of the manner of exorcising were obtained from the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries. So far as I know, the practice is nowhere followed today. Accounts from the different manuscripts will be given separately, as they vary in detail.

According to Père Pierre, (4) an ointment made by mashing strong scented herbs on a reddish stone, was applied to the painful region of the body. After some rubbing, the evil spirit was extracted, the practitioner closing his hand and carrying it behind his head to allow the god to

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304 [533] Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

304 752 The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as [824] an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

304 The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

[824 778] After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tukuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This ac- [302] complished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina*, feast; *tuhi*, show; *tiki*, design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.